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like one of the military powers, on the sea or anywhere else, is for the nation to expose itself to the weaknesses, the entanglements, the alarms, the perils and the degeneration which always stalk in the wake of militarism. It is not too late yet for our beloved country to stop short in the new course on which it has entered, and every consideration of strength, security, honor and usefulness demand that it should do so.

The hope of general disarmament in any form does not at the moment seem to be strong. However, the action of Chile and the Argentine Republic in entering last summer into a convention for the arrest of their armaments, the first of its kind, deserves honorable mention. This step, we may hope, will be followed before long by other powers, from economic necessity, if for no other reason.

THE OUTLOOK.

There is much in the general outlook to encourage us. The transformation that has taken place in the society of the civilized nations since our Society was organized seventy-five years ago has been enormous. War is much less frequent than it was. The friends of peace have grown greatly in numbers and in influence. Their organization to-day is so strong as to make itself heard and respected. The methods which they have recommended for the adjustment of controversies have gradually been accepted and applied by governments, until to-day a permanent court of arbitration for the nations is actually in successful operation. The beginning of the end of war seems to be at hand. The great successes of the past assure us that what remains to be done, difficult and discouraging as it is, will certainly in time be accomplished by the same forces and means which have wrought heretofore. The part which the American Peace Society has taken in the great movement for the abolition of war and the federated unity and peace of the world has been large and honorable. Into the details of it we do not here go, as our secretary has prepared for this anniversary a special pamphlet giving the history of the Society's work since its inception.

We may well turn to the future and the tasks which it will impose upon us with deepened conviction of the soundness and entire practicability of the principles for which the Society stands, and with a hope, which triumphs already, that the time is relatively near when our ideals will be finally and fully realized and the nations learn war no more.

MEMBERSHIP AND FINANCES.

The year has brought to the Society its usual losses in membership, some of those taken away having been connected with it for a generation or more. For the services of all these we desire to record our sincere appreciation.

The vacancies thus caused have been more than filled up, for in no other year of the last decade have so many new members been added to our lists.

The treasurer's report shows that our finances have considerably improved. The Permanent Peace Trust Fund has yielded about four hundred dollars more than for the two or three preceding years. The receipts from the other ordinary sources have not changed much, except that those from memberships have increased. The recent receipt of two legacies has enabled us to pay off

our previous indebtedness and to begin another year with a good balance in the treasury.

With devout thanks to God for his guidance and blessing, we respectfully submit this report.

On behalf of the Board,

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD,
Secretary.

BOSTON, May 18, 1903.

Sumner's Argument Against War Corroborated by Subsequent Events.*

BY MOORFIELD STOREY.

It is now nearly sixty years since Charles Sumner delivered his great oration on the "True Grandeur of Nations," which was in effect his entrance into public life. His argument was presented in the rhetorical garment more popular in those days than it is now, and is therefore less read than it should be; but it is unanswerable. He dwelt upon the frightful waste of war in life and health, and in that which is of vastly less importance — property; upon the ruinous effect which war produces on the manhood of a nation, which shows itself when we see the men of a country permanently undersized by reason of the losses which the nation has met in war. He pointed out the frightful demoralization of public character and standards, so well summed up in the single phrase of Sydney Smith, "In war God is forgotten." He showed how absolutely futile war is to settle anything, except perhaps the question which of two nations at the moment is the stronger. He pointed out how inevitably war is the parent of more war, —

"For what can war but endless war still breed?"

And finally he dwelt upon its pinchbeck glory and its ridiculous vanities. We whose brains are cleared by grizzling hair recognize that what he said was true. We know that General Sherman spoke the truth when he said, "War is hell." And we cannot understand how any man or set of men can justify themselves in seeking to bring hell upon earth.

It is undoubtedly true that there are occasions when nations, like men, must defend themselves, must defend their liberty, must defend their national existence; and the heroes and martyrs of a struggle like that will always win "men's praise and women's love." But were the aggressors in such a conflict controlled and their aggression prevented, the occasion for the heroes and martyrs might never arise. It is the man or group of men who engage great nations in war to win power or to retain it, to achieve personal distinction, to make money by extending commerce, or to force their social or religious or political ideas upon their weaker neighbors, against whom enlightened public opinion must always be directed. There is no greater criminal than the man who for his own advantage is willing to expose thousands of his fellow creatures to death and to wounds, to subject their wives and children to bereavement and sorrow and all the suffering that follows war and its inevitable attendants, pestilence and famine, and who then points to the rank or the office which he has won

* An address delivered at the banquet of the American Peace Society on its seventy-fifth anniversary, May 18, 1903.

through their sacrifices as the excuse for the war which he has promoted. The time has come when the man who does these things should be stamped as a criminal and not held up to the honor of mankind.

As I say, it is nearly sixty years since Mr. Sumner made his speech, and during those years the nations of this world have been actively engaged in war. Has any one of those wars weakened his argument? Have they not all supplied additional evidence in its support? Let us run over the catalogue.

That oration was delivered in 1845. In 1847 this country engaged in the Mexican War, a war of brutal aggression, fought to extend the area of human slavery, and undoubtedly one of the principal steps which led to our own Civil War. Is there any right-thinking American who will undertake for a moment to justify that war or who will contend that it helped in any way the civilization of the world?

The Crimean War, fought from 1853 to 1856, turned many a gallant young Englishman, Frenchman, Turk, Russian, Sardinian, into carrion. But what result does any one point to as achieved by that war? What is there to justify all its horrors? I fancy no statesman can now be found to say anything in its defense.

The Franco-Austrian war, so far as it was a war to secure the relief of the Italians from the yoke of Austria, was one of those wars which was bred by war. It was the war which followed the war by which Austria asserted her control over the Italian states. So far as it affected the political relations between France and Austria, or the balance of power in Europe, what was the result? What did civilization gain from the frightful slaughter of Magenta and Solferino? What did the victor gain, unless it was that false pride, that foolish self-confidence, which led, a few years later, to the disaster of Sedan, and the overthrow of the man who was the author of the Franco-Austrian war?

How was Europe helped by the great conflict that ended in Sedan? Are Alsace and Lorraine any better off than under French control? Has that war left anything but a seed of bitterness and desire for revenge, that sooner or later may break forth into a new war?

Take the last war between China and Japan. What was there in that war which helped in any way the progress of the world?

We can easily fill the scale full of war's horrors. What benefit can we put into the opposing scale — what benefit, what help, to any Christian or pagan soul?

But I shall be told that on this continent was fought a war which freed a race, and which relieved and saved this people from the prejudice against the colored man which has been a prolific source of injustice. If the war was necessary to free the slave, then perhaps the price which we paid was not too great. But was it necessary? The brutality which made the slave, the small wars in Africa, in which the prisoners were taken that we brought over here and placed upon our plantations, were but the dragon's teeth which bore their crop at Gettysburg, at Antietam, in the Wilderness, and in the thousand battlefields of that war in which more men on the Southern side alone laid down their lives than had died of Englishmen in all the wars of England from William the Conqueror down to that time. If our countrymen had foreseen the terrible consequences, if they

had realized that what seemed the sin of the South was the sin of us all, that we all ought to tax ourselves to lift that burden, to end that curse, is there any doubt that the same result which was wrought by the war, and a far better one, might have been won by peaceful means? If, in 1831, when there were more anti-slavery societies in the Southern than in the Northern States, the problem had been taken up in a proper spirit, we should have had emancipation without the terrible consequence from which we are still suffering.

And is it true that that war freed us from the prejudice against the colored man which was the source of slavery? We are unhappily now witnessing a reaction against the great principles of Lincoln and the Declaration of Independence, and what is its cause? Another war, a war of conquest, a war in which we have learned to say that the brown man has no right to govern himself which the white man is bound to respect! Is it singular that we find this barbarous doctrine given a wider application within our own boundaries, and that men who think it right to oppress the brown man should find it hard to say why other men should not oppress the black man? If the brown man in the Philippine Islands cannot be allowed to govern himself, should the black man be allowed to take his part in governing us all? Spain stood ready to yield the independence of Cuba without war. We insisted upon war. We find that this last war of aggression imperils the fruit of the great struggle in which so many of the flower of our youth laid down their lives.

Thus this latest war endangers the result of the only war that has been waged here since Sumner spoke, in favor of which anything can be said, and the conscience of the nation is dulled to appeals for justice from black men and brown men alike. Is there anything in our experience that leads us to think Mr. Sumner was wrong?

Europe during these sixty years has been increasing its burdens until "every man who follows the plow carries on his back a soldier," and it seems now as if he were to carry a sailor also! Italy is staggering under the frightful burden of her military system. France finds it difficult to make her income meet her expenses. England is being told that she must now have a navy equal to those of any other three powers of the world. Germany is weighed down by conscription. Militarism has advanced until in the French Assembly a statesman is urging that France disarm whether the rest of the world do or not, and the Czar is insisting that all Europe should begin to disarm. Europe is an armed camp. War has worked out its inevitable result, until the great nations feel it is a system they cannot bear any longer.

And at that moment, with this lesson before us, there is a school of men in this country who would have us abandon the peaceful paths in which we have grown great, take up the outworn doctrines of the Middle Ages, and follow in the steps of military Europe! And prominent among them is the President of the United States! I wish to quote some of his recent words:

"It behooves all men of lofty soul, who are proud to belong to a mighty nation, to see to it that we fit ourselves to take and keep a great position in the world, for our proper place is with the expanding nations and the nations that dare to be great. To do these things we

can count on the peace that comes only to the just man armed. We must keep on building and maintaining a thoroughly efficient navy, with plenty of the best ships, an ample supply of officers and men, and these trained in the most thorough way to the best possible performance of their duty. Only thus can we be sure of our position in the world at large, and in particular on the Pacific. Unless we show ourselves weak and degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work they have begun."

Now is it true that it behooves all men of lofty soul to be proud that they belong to a mighty nation? Isn't it just as much a proof of loftiness to be proud that we belong to a mighty race, the human race, and not to a single fragment of it? Isn't there something finer and nobler in the motto which is graven on the statue of Garrison on Commonwealth Avenue?

"MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD;
MY COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND."

We are told that those who recognize the brotherhood of man, who do not consider it a proof of lofty soul to use a giant's strength like a giant against our weaker neighbors, are "weaklings" and "cowards." Is the man who wrote the "Farewell Address" a coward, and are the sentiments of that Address those of a weakling? Is the man who believes that Washington was right a coward? We must revise our dictionaries if these are phrases to be applied to the Father of his Country and to his legitimate disciples.

There is a higher courage than that which from the dawn of history every race has shown in battle. There never was a race that lacked the physical courage to fight and to die. The African savage who exposes his naked body to the Maxim gun and to the rifles of the British riflemen has that courage. The unhappy Filipinos who to the number of thousands have laid down their lives, armed as they were with bolos against the best soldiers of the world, armed with the most perfect modern arms; the negroes who under Colonel Shaw laid their bones on the ramparts of Fort Wagner—all had that courage. It is the common property of the bulldog and the man.

But there is a higher courage, a far higher courage, than that which the white man shows, who, with little or no loss or danger, leads his troops against the weaker brown men. It is the courage which John Howard showed when he risked his life in the foul jails of Europe for the purpose of bringing relief to the poorest and meanest class that the world knew—the criminals in prison. It is such courage as Garrison showed in Boston, as Lovejoy showed in Alton, as many and many an abolitionist showed in the attempt to win liberty for men in no way his kindred, and whose slavery or freedom did not affect his freedom in the least. It is the courage of Wyclif and of all the men who as martyrs and heroes in every age of the world have died for their faith. It is the courage shown by the District Attorney of St. Louis against all the powers financial, political and social in that community, who is bringing the bribers to justice. It is the courage which the President of the United States would show if he should say to men like Platt and Quay: "I have no sympathy with your aims or your methods, and you may count

upon my inflexible opposition;" or if he should say: "There is a State in this country, a small one, which has been the scene of the most deliberate attempt at corruption that this country has known; I will appoint in that State to the position of District Attorney a man who I am sure will bring to justice every briber who offends against the laws of the United States." It is the courage which he would show if he were to say that any cruelty or injustice, any crime or corruption, whether in the military or the civil service of the United States, in the Post Office or in Luzon, should be punished, that the men guilty should be brought to justice, no matter what the consequences.

Men are praised for laying down their lives for their country. But there is another life than that which stops when the heart ceases to beat, and it seems to be a life which men value more, and that is their political life, their political future—the chance of holding office longer or being reelected again! We want the courage which would sacrifice *that* life, which would lay down that fortune, that future; the courage of the man who will say: "No matter what happens to me, while I hold the office to which the people have elected me, I will administer its powers without fear or favor or thought of what the consequences may be to my future." That is the courage that we want, and that is the strenuous life which some among us ought to preach.

It is easy to side with the strongest battalions, to direct great armies against a weak opponent. What we need is the courage which will risk political death and personal obloquy in defense of unpopular truth—in war against "the boss."

It is not the duty of a mighty nation to dominate the ocean, which is the common highway of all nations. No nation, and no man, has a right to control that which is the common property of the race. No man, and no nation, has a right to force his ideas by arms or by brutality upon an unwilling people simply because they are weak and he is strong. We may easily read in the ruins of Rome, in the sands which cover Palmyra and Carthage, and in the prostration of Spain, the fate of other nations just as mighty in their day as the United States is now, who drew the sword of aggression and perished by the sword. The great conquerors, Alexander, Napoleon and Cæsar, established no lasting empire. They dazzle the world for a day and leave behind them only a name! The lasting conquests are the conquests of Luther, the conquests of Howard, of Wilberforce, the conquests of all the great moral leaders and teachers of this world, the conquest of the greatest Teacher of them all; and we must learn to recognize that in such conquests the might of a nation is shown. That is the arena in which a lofty soul should rejoice to show itself. We shall be indeed degenerate sons of our great sires if we turn our backs upon the principles which they announced to the world; if we throw away the great influence for human freedom which we have gained, to join the ranks of the oppressors and to deny other men their freedom, only in time to lose our own and to share the fate of Rome and Spain. Let us rather hold fast their faith and say with the prophet: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings, that publisheth peace!"